DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 145 790 HE 009 384

AUTHOR Meier, Harold C.; Vaughan, Suzanne
TITLE Faculty Marginality and Radical Academic Ideology.
PUB DATE 77
NOTE 27p.; Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Association (Dallas, March 1977). Best available copy.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Standards; Collective Bargaining; *College Faculty; Curriculum; *Educational Philosophy; Equal Education; Faculty Promotion; Governance; Grading; *Higher Education; School Surveys; Scientific Attitudes; State Universities; Teacher Attitudes; *Teacher Militancy; Teaching Methods; Tenure; *Unions
IDENTIFIERS Meritocracy

ABSTRACT

One of the outgrowths of the student counterculture of the late 1960's and 1970's was the emergence of a specifically educational counterculture that found a following among members of college and university faculties. As war and militarism declined as dominant issues provoking campus unrest, assaults on the structure of higher education sharpened. The experience of the University of New Mexico was typical: faculties became polarized between those defending traditional academic practices and standards and those taking an antiestablishment stand. Frequent and acrimonious debates occurred over grading practices, academic regulations, curriculum requirements, student participation in governance, and tenure and promotion policies, among others. An empirical study at the university undertook to specify factors or characteristics predicting faculty receptivity to antitraditional or radical educational values. Responses to a questionnaire were analyzed. Three themes were present in the questions, each counterposing two ideologies: (1) egalitarianism versus meritocracy; (2) science as the objective search for truth versus science as ideology; and (3) positivism versus personalism in pedagogical methods. Results are discussed as they relate to faculty militancy and unionization. (MSE)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED145790

OCT 1 1 1977

FACULTY MARGINALITY AND RADICAL ACADEMIC IDEOLOGY

Harold C. Meier
The University of New Mexico

and

Suzanne Vaughan
Ohio State University

1977

[Presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association in Dallas, Texas, March 31, 1977]

HE009384

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Harold C. Meier
Suzanne Vaughan

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

One of the outgrowths of the student counter-culture of the late 1960's and 1970's was the emergence of a specifically educational counter-culture that found a following among members of college and university faculties. After peaking in 1971-72, the student protest movement rapidly subsided in step with the nation's progressive disengagement from the Vietnamese war, culminating in the abolition of military conscription. But as war and militarism declined as dominating issues provoking campus unrest, counter-culture assaults on the structure of higher education sharpened. Indeed, a more or less coherent "radical" ideology of education seemed to have taken root on the nation's campuses, finding widespread receptivity among faculty members as well as among students.

The experience of The University of New Mexico, the site of the investigation reported here, was undoubtedly fairly typical of the experience of many state colleges and universities. In the wake of the student counter-culture, faculties tended to become polarized between those defending traditional academic practices and standards and those taking an "anti-establishment" stand. The struggle between these two ideological tendencies became manifest in the course of frequent and often arcimonious debates in faculty bodies around such issues as grading practices, academic regulations, curriculum requirements, student participation in governance, tenure and promotion policies, etc. In the course of such debates in faculty meetings, in committees, and in other campus forums, an identifiable "radical" faction in the faculty emerged, with spokesmen of this faction often articulating eloquent ideological justifications for their positions on academic issues.

One of the outgrowths of the student counter-culture of the late 1960's and 1970's was the emergence of a specifically educational counter-culture that found a following among members of college and university faculties. After peaking in 1971-72, the student protest movement rapidly subsided in step with the nation's progressive disengagement from the Vietnamese war, culminating in the abolition of military conscription. But as war and militarism declined as dominating issues provoking campus unrest, counter-culture assaults on the structure of higher education sharpened. Indeed, a more or less coherent "radical" ideology of education seemed to have taken root on the nation's campuses, finding widespread receptivity among faculty members as well as among students.

The experience of The University of New Mexico, the site of the investigation reported here, was undoubtedly fairly typical of the experience of many state colleges and universities. In the wake of the student counter-culture, faculties tended to become polarized between those defending traditional academic practices and standards and those taking an "anti-establishment" stand. The struggle between these two ideological tendencies became manifest in the course of frequent and often arcimonious debates in faculty bodies around such issues as grading practices, academic regulations, curriculum requirements, student participation in governance, tenure and promotion policies, etc. In the course of such debates in faculty meetings, in committees, and in other campus forums, an identifiable "radical" faction in the faculty emerged, with spokesmen of this faction often articulating eloquent ideological justifications for their positions on academic issues.

The emergence of this "radical" faction and its pattern of behavior fits rather neatly Smelser's definition of collective behavior: "an uninstitutionalized mobilization for action in order to modify one or more kinds of strain on the basis of a generalized reconstruction of a component of action." (Smelser, 1962:71). Smelser proposed a biaxial conceptual scheme consisting of four hierarchically ordered components of social action: values, norms, role mobilization, and situational facilities. Each of these components is itself seen as comprising levels of specification, ranging from highly general to concretely specific aspects. In this scheme, higher order components always determine lower order components (e.g., values determine norms, norms determine roles, etc.) and the more general aspects of components determine the more specific aspects. However, determination from specific to more general levels and from lower-order to higher-order components is always problematical. Strain or disorder at any point in this system stimulates efforts to reconstitute one or more higher levels and/or components in order to cope with the strain at a lower level and/or lower order component (Smelser, 1962:23-78). According to Smelser,

> Collective behavior involves a generalization to a high-level component of action. Like many other kinds of behavior, it is a search for solutions to conditions of strain by moving to a more generalized level of resources. (Smelser, 1962:71)

Smelser goes on to characterize the "critical feature" of collective behavior as follows:

> Having defined the high-level component, people do not proceed to specify, step by step, down the line to reconstitute social action. Rather, they develop a belief which "short-circuits" from a very generalized component directly to the focus of strain. (Smelser, 1962:71)

Thus, collective behavior "...compresses several levels of the components of action into a single belief, from which specific solutions are expected to follow" (Smelser, 1962:71).

Although our empirical study may be situated in this paradigm of collective behavior, only a few aspects of the more comprehensive paradigm are directly utilized. We were specifically interested in specifying factors predicting receptivity to anti-traditional or "radical" educational values on the part of university faculty members. The ultimate sources of strains in the university system may be taken, for our purposes, as established historically. Perhaps the most important historical intrusions disrupting the traditional equilibrium of the university system were associated with the explosive growth of enrollments during the decade of the 1960's. This rapid growth brought with it a need for rapidly expanding faculties, and hence, for a time, greatly expanded career opportunities in the academic system; it also gave rise to a vigorous student counter-culture, associated with major episodes of collective behavior on the nation's campuses and the intrusion of student power and student constituencies in the university political arena. After 1971, however, the student counter-culture began to wane, and, more significantly for our problem, the academic employment market began to show signs of severe and prolonged constriction. Thus, the inflated career related expectations that had been structured by the previous period of expansion were now threatened by an inhospitable employment scene and, for many, by uncertainty about the future of the university employment presently held.

These developments created considerable ambiguity, to use Smelser's terms, at the level of "situational facilities." We reasoned that anxieties induced by this ambiguity would be most acute for those faculty most marginally situated with respect to such facilities as tenure, rank, longevity or senority in academic employment, and career circumstances. However, these situationally induced anxieties might still have little potential for inducing collective behavior responses at the level of values and norms so long

as there was still confidence in coping with the ambiguous situation by recourse to the mobilization component, the next higher-order component of action in Smelser's scheme. With respect to mobilization, a critical variable would be the perceived potency of the faculty, as opposed to administrators, regents, and external authorities, in university governance and policy making. A perception of faculty impotence in the matrix of power and decision-making in the university would most directly trigger a generalization of anxieties to the level of values, i.e., the impatient leap to the adoption of values hostile to the traditional academic values governing the system seen as the source of anxieties. Given the historically structured ambiguity and uncertainty in the university system alluded to above, marginally situated faculty could be expected to feel very remote from the sources of power affecting their destinies and to see the faculty collectively as relatively impotent in the policy and decision-making arena. By this reasoning, the causal linkage of marginal situation to radical academic values should be indirect and mediated by a sense of faculty powerlessness, which would imply a feeling of personal powerlessness as well.

The Causal Model

In the causal model formulated for purposes of empirical investigation, the causal variables reflecting situational factors of faculty members were academic longevity (years of academic employment), prestige of the faculty member's field, scholarly productivity, career continuity (orderly versus disorderly employment histories), tenure status, and faculty rank. Together with perceived potency of the faculty, the pivotal intervening variable, and academic value orientation, the pivotal endogenous variable, these situational variables were ordered in a causal scheme. Longevity, prestige

of field, and career continuity were considered the primal exogenous variables, with the sequence of dependency of the remaining variables ordered as follows: productivity, tenure, rank, perceived faculty potency, academic value orientation. While more of the impact of situational variables on academic values orientation was expected to be mediated by perception of faculty potency, the model also allowed for unmediated direct effects of situational variables. Direct influences of social milieu and peer reference groups might be expected to produce some unmediated effects on value orientation. For purposes of path analysis, the model was therefore fully recursive except for the omission of any causal linkage of prestige of field to tenure and rank.

Data and Methods

Data to test the causal model described above were obtained by means of a mailed questionnaire survey of a systematic (nth interval) sample of University of New Mexico faculty members in the Spring of 1973.[1] The original sample consisted of 181 faculty members, 116 of whom returned usable questionnaires. Of the 36 percent not responding, about half were on leave from the University or could not be reached for other reasons.[2]

Measurement of faculty members' academic values orientation, the pivotal endogenous variable in the model, was accomplished by means of a six-step Guttman scale of composite items, i.e., an "H-scale" of the type developed by Stouffer (1962,Chap 4). Each composite item consists of three distinct attitude items displaying similar marginal frequencies of their scores. Based on an item analysis, agreement-disagreement ratings on the original items were dichotomized into scores of 0 or 1, and then the composite items were scored 0 or 1 depending on the majority of 0 of 1 scores among the constituent items of the composite set.

The scores on composite items were then scaled using the Guttman method. The final scale consisted of 13 original attitude items grouped into five composite scale items, with each of two original items appearing with different cutting points in two composite items. These 13 items consisted of ideological propositions or value-loaded beliefs to which respondents could indicate degrees of agreement or disagreement. An attempt was made to formulate ideological or value-loaded statements which reflected three underlying themes differentiating traditional and radical academic values; these themes are: (1) professionalism versus radical egalitarianism, (2) objectivity versus political commitment, and (3) positivism versus personalism.

The first of these themes counterposes the radical's egalitarian position on competency to the competitive and stratified meritocracy of the traditional academy. In the traditional academy, the acquisition of a body of knowledge and technical skills is considered the foundation of professionalism and the proper basis for claims to competence. The radical position denies the legitimacy of this differentiation and certification on the basis of technical and knowledge mastery and, instead, maintains that competence in communication and criticism of a body of knowledge is not limited to any specially certified group. The radical envisions the university as a "learning community" of equals, much like a sensitivity group where leaders and followers are undifferentiated and where anyone's contribution is just as valid as that of anyone else.

In a general sense, the second theme expresses a dichotomy between science as the objective search for truth and science as ideology. The radical position downgrades or denies the premise that valid knowledge rests upon impersonal methods of verification, and instead, views the established enterprise of science and education as the ideological weapon of a ruling class or privileged elite. For them, the good society will not come about as a result of the growth of objective

knowledge, but rather will come from the ".....determined will of men of convictions about the best social structure." (Carnegie Commission, 1973:85). In this view, human problems can be dealt with only by political reconstruction; knowledges and "truths" are therefore political weapons of either the old or new orders.

The third theme, positivism versus personalism, focuses on the pedagogical methods by which knowledge is taught. The traditional position is that, since human behavior is patterned and socially organized, there are universalistic criteria by which the performances of individuals can be judged. In contrast, the radicals deny the validity of universalistic criteria and insist on respecting the diffuse totality of personal experience. They hold that the unique, creative aspects of human behavior cannot be captured by standardized tests or judged by specific criteria. The application of standardized and quantified criteria to human beings, therefore, is not only inadequate, it is illegitimate. While the academic traditionalist insists on impersonal evaluation of specific educational performances and capacities, the radical holds that education should facilitate the self-realization of the diffuse individual potential.

To the extent that indicators of these themes displayed internal consistency and reliably ordered faculty respondents on a continuum, there was reason to assume that we had tapped a dimension of ideological orientation, which is defined by Ladd and Lipset (1975:38) as consisting of a "....quasilogically interrelated system of ideas." Elaborating by means of simile, they liken ideology to

> . . .a patchwork quilt in which the individual policy items are the patches. Like a quilt, an ideology is more than the sum of its patches; it is the patches bound together--"constrained"--in a specified and ordered arrangement. (Ladd and Lipset, 1975:38).

Although no precise mix was achieved, all three value themes discussed above were reflected to some degree in the 13 items incorporated into the Academic Values scale.[3] As illustrated by the two items reproduced below, some of the items are in

the form of ideologically loaded beliefs and others are straightforward ideological propositions.

> The hierarchical system of tenure is an elitist distinction whose real purpose is to protect the academic power structure.
>
> The university should be viewed primarily as a learning community of equals and a model of human relations for a better society.

It is interesting that all but one of the items in the best scale obtained from the original battery of 22 items were statements of radical beliefs; apparently, respondents could orient themselves to statements articulating anti-establishment positions more consistently than to expressions of traditional values. Upon reflection, this should not be too surprising, since long established values and ideological positions are known and accepted implicitly; they are taken for granted in the normal course of events, until brought into focus by the challenge of contradictory values.

The scale was originally developed from responses obtained from a selected sample of graduate students whose ideological positions on the radical-traditional axis were known. When the scale was applied to responses obtained in the faculty survey, the scale reproducibility was a surprisingly high 98 percent.

Data on faculty members' perception of faculty power in university affairs was obtained by responses to the following question:

> Do you feel that faculty members have an adequate voice in university decisions and policies?

Responses were coded as more than adequate, adequate, or less than adequate. Taken at face value, responses to this question indicate the faculty member's perception of the collective capacity of the faculty to influence and control the university environment, but it would also tend to reflect the respondent's sense of his own potency for mobilizing faculty resources in coping with tensions and uncertainties in his university environment. In any case, a

perception of powerlessness of the faculty collectively implies that the respondent himself feels powerless to exert control over his university situation.

Turning to the situational variables of the model, faculty members' current tenure status and academic rank were readily ascertained. Productivity was measured by means of a weighted index of the number of papers presented at professional meetings, articles and monographs in professional publications, and scholarly books published. Academic longevity was measured in terms of the number of years of employment in faculty ranks. Prestige of the faculty member's field was measured by a score reflecting the rank order position of the faculty member's field in a distribution of mean annual salaries of teaching faculty in 18 academic fields (Dunham, et.al., 1966:171).

The measurement of the remaining variable, career continuity, involved some somewhat more complex operations. The career patterns of faculty members were coded as "relatively orderly" or "relatively disorderly," using a somewhat modified version of the coding scheme given by Wilensky (1961:524-526). Following Wilensky, a downwardly mobile worklife or disorderly career was defined as a pattern of either functionally non-related jobs and/or a non-hierarchical sequence of jobs. An orderly career was defined as a succession of functionally related jobs and/or educational levels through which the person moved in an ordered hierarchical sequence. Data on respondents' work and educational histories, from the time of graduation from high school, were evaluated by two independent coders applying these criteria. The North-Hatt occupational prestige scale was used to assess hierarchical ranking of occupations, and determination of reciprocity of occupation and education was based on

whether skills or experience gained in one area were related to subsequent jobs or education.

Although career continuity is not a variable reflecting situation in the university or academic system in quite the same sense as the other independent variables, it does serve to distinguish those having a rather tenuous or precarious career hold in the academic system from those who have experienced a more or less unbroken succession of successes up the established career ladder. Wilensky (1961) found that persons with orderly careers are more socially active, are better integrated into social networks, and experience greater social rewards. We could therefore expect that faculty members with orderly careers would tend to regard themselves and their colleagues as efficacious in university affairs and to be supportive of the values and norms of the system that rewards them. Those with marginal career histories, on the other hand, would be more likely to feel rather powerless and be more open to a radical reconstitution of the values governing the academic system.

ANALYSIS

The correlation coefficients shown in Table 1 provided the basic data for a path analysis of the model proposed above.[4] Initially, a fully recursive model, with the variables sequenced in the manner described earlier, was analyzed with a view to trimming and simplifying the model. All paths in the fully recursive system whose coefficients failed to exceed the one-tail .10 level of statistical significance were trimmed from the model. Including the two paths on theoretical grounds at the outset, a total of 11 paths were deleted.[5]

With these paths trimmed, the revised model was analyzed, as shown in Figure 1. The recomposed of "model predicted" zero-order correlations are shown in the second column of Table 1. A summary of effects of the

TABLE 1: OBSERVED AND MODEL-PREDICTED CORRELATIONS

	Observed Correlation	Recomposed Correlation
ACADEMIC VALUES with		
FACULTY POWER	.813	.813
FACULTY RANK	.233	.233
PRODUCTIVITY	.263	.229*
TENURE STATUS	.429	.433*
LONGEVITY	.429	.429
PRESTIGE OF FIELD	.232	.191*
CAREER CONTINUITY	.547	.551
FACULTY POWER PERCEPTION with		
FACULTY RANK	.319	.329*
TENURE STATUS	.491	.487
PRODUCTIVITY	.235	.267*
LONGEVITY	.444	.444
PRESTIGE OF FIELD	.250	.243
CAREER CONTINUITY	.580	.580
FACULTY RANK with		
TENURE STATUS	.497	.438*
PRODUCTIVITY	.570	.570
LONGEVITY	.694	.694
PRESTIGE OF FIELD	-.079	-.063*
CAREER CONTINUITY	.197	.168*
TENURE STATUS with		
PRODUCTIVITY	.341	.315*
LONGEVITY	.627	.627
PRESTIGE OF FIELD	-.014	-.044*
CAREER CONTINUITY	.282	.282
PRODUCTIVITY with		
LONGEVITY	.489	.489
PRESTIGE OF FIELD	.077	.077
CAREER CONTINUITY	.232	.163*
ACADEMIC LONGEVITY with		
PRESTIGE OF FIELD	-.159	
CAREER CONTINUITY	.217	
PRESTIGE OF FIELD with		
CAREER CONTINUITY	.326	

* Path between variables deleted in trimmed model.

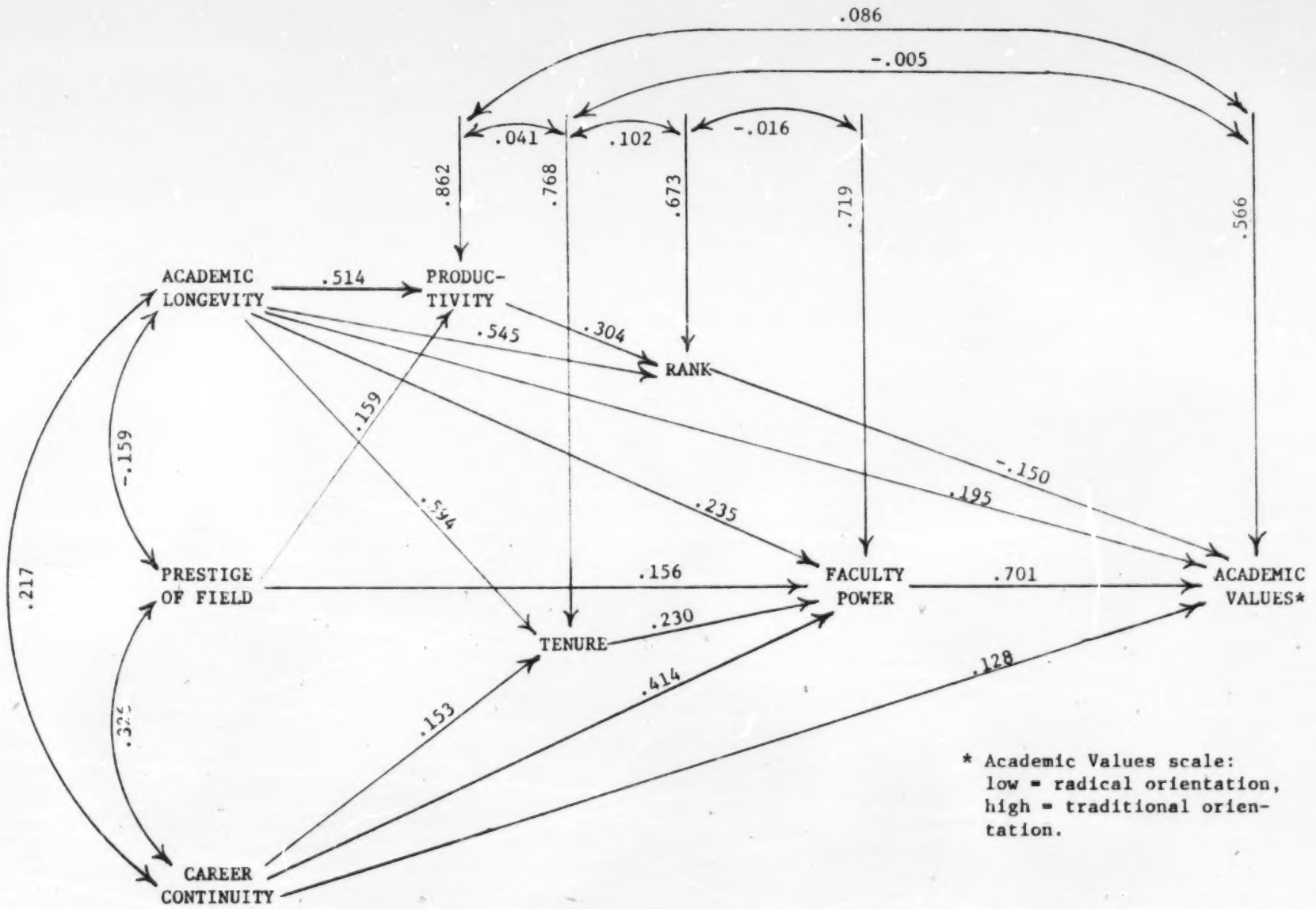

FIGURE 1: PATH DIAGRAM OF DETERMINANTS OF ACADEMIC VALUES ORIENTATION OF FACULTY MEMBERS

TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF EFFECTS BEARING ON PERCEPTION OF FACULTY POWER

Independent Variable	Direct effects	Indirect Effects*					Recomposed Correlation	Observed Correlation
		Mediated by TENURE	Shared with LONGEVITY	Shared with PRESTIGE/FIELD	Shared with CAREER CONTIN.	Spurious		
RANK	----**					.329	.329	.318
TENURE	.230					.257	.487	.491
PRODUCTIVITY	----**					.267	.267	.235
LONGEVITY	.235	.137		-.025	.097		.444	.444
PRESTIGE OF FIELD	.156		-.059		.146		.243	.250
CAREER CONTINUITY	.414	.035	.081	.051			.581	.580

* Mediated effects are causal indirect effects. Shared effects reflect correlation with another exogenous variable; shared effects mediated by tenure are included in the accounting for shared effects.

** Path deleted in model trimming.

TABLE 3: SUMMARY OF EFFECTS BEARING ON ACADEMIC VALUES ORIENTATION

Independent Variable	Direct effects	Indirect Effects: Mediated by FAC-POWER[a]	Indirect Effects: Shared effects via FAC-POWER[b]	Indirect Effects: Other indirect[c]	Spurious	Recomposed correlation	Observed correlation
FACULTY POWER	.701				.112	.813	.813
FACULTY RANK	-.150				.383	.233	.233
TENURE STATUS	----[d]	.161			.272	.433	.429
PRODUCTIVITY	----[d]			-.046	.275	.229	.263
LONGEVITY	.195	.260	.051	-.076		.429	.429
PRESTIGE OF FIELD	----[d]	.109	.062	.021		.192	.232
CAREER CONTINUITY	.128	.314	.092	.017		.551	.547

[a] Sum of indirect causal effects of exogenous variables on Academic Values as mediated by perception of faculty power, including effects also mediated by Tenure.

[b] Shared effects reflect correlation with another exogenous variable; all such effects that are mediated by perception of Faculty Power are summed.

[c] Sum of all indirect effects not mediated by perception of Faculty Power and not defined by the model as spurious.

[d] Path deleted in model trimming.

independent variables is presented in Tables 2 and 3. The results of the analysis of the trimmed model showed that two-thirds of the variance in Academic Values was accounted for. As expected, perception of Faculty Power, which we regarded as referring to the role mobilization component of Smelser's action scheme, turns out to be the key intervening variable mediating the effects of all the situational variables except Productivity and Rank. Nearly half of the variance of perceived Faculty Power is accounted for by the remaining situational variables, with Career Continuity accounting for half of the total explained variance. The fact that perceived Faculty Power accounts for more than 80 percent of the large explained variance in Academic Values, but with much less of its own variance accounted for by the situational variables, suggests a possible weakness in the model. Evidently other variables reflecting situation or perhaps participation in the academic system would be required to render a more satisfactory accounting for variation in perceptions of faculty power. It might be noted that some participation variables on which we did collect data, such as service on university committees, did not prove out.

We were also somewhat perplexed by the behavior of some of the situational variables. Productivity, for example, was found to have virtually no effect on either Tenure or on perception of Faculty Power, and only a relatively modest effect on Rank. Tenure, in turn, had no appreciable direct effect on Rank, since both Rank and Tenure are both strongly related to a common antecedent variable, Longevity. Furthermore, contrary to our initial expectations, Rank did not produce the same kinds of effects as Tenure and Longevity; Rank proved to have virtually no effect on perception of Faculty Power and produced a weak but nevertheless a very definite

inverse effect on Academic Values. In other words, there appears to be actually a slightly increased probability of embracing radical academic values the higher one's academic rank, without any implications of feelings of powerlessness or situational anxiety. We were indeed aware of specific cases of secure and prestigious full professors playing a prominent role in the radical faction on our own campus, but impressionistically these examples seemed isolated and not indicative of any general tendency.

Since Rank is itself so heavily dependent on Longevity, the results present us with the curious picture of Longevity simultaneously exerting a positive influence on Academic Values both directly and indirectly through Tenure and Faculty Power, but a small inverse effect on Academic Values when mediated by Rank.

Apart from this minor anamoly, however, the causal picture is clear. Perception of Faculty Power, i.e., the perceived potential of faculty role mobilization for coping with problems in the university environment is conditioned by the faculty member's longevity in academic employment, his career continuity, his tenure status, and, though of lesser importance, the relative prestige of his academic field. Receptivity to radical academic ideology is therefore shown to be heavily contingent upon the faculty member's lack of faith in the collective faculty's capacity to significantly influence academic policies and decisions, which perception implies a feeling of personal powerlessness in the academic setting as well. This sense of powerlessness is, in turn, contingent to a considerable degree upon marginality with respect to certain facilities important in the academic system, such as being a relatively new arrival in the system, probationary status (no tenure), being in a relatively low prestige field, and having a

rather chequered or disorderly career history. As our results show, with the exception of the anomolous effects of Rank referred to above, only Longevity and Career Continuity were shown to have more than negligible direct effects on Academic Values unmediated by sense of faculty potency. The total picture of the indirect effects of the three exogenous variables is, however, somewhat muddied by the extent to which they are intercorrelated. The correlation between Prestige of Field and Career Continuity is especially sizable with the consequence that nearly half of the decomposed effects of Prestige of Field on Academic values can only be interpreted as "shared" with Career Continuity. Even so, only a trivial loss in explained variance in Academic Values can be traced to effects shared among the three exogenous variables and therefore not amenable to unamiguous causal interpretation. Together with Tenure, academic Longevity and Career Continuity stand out clearly as the principal situational variables bearing on perception of Faculty Power and, through Faculty Power, on Academic Values.

For purely pragmatic predictive purposes, certainly Productivity and possibly Rank could be excluded from the model shown here with negligible loss in explanatory power and a gain in simplicity. We chose to leave these two variables in the picture for purposes of this presentation in order to show how little these two factors, usually considered of such high importance in academic life, are actually related to tenure status, perception of faculty potency, and academic ideology--at least, at one state university.

Discussion

The investigation reported here has the obvious limitation of representing one university only. Since our survey was undertaken, Ladd and Lipset (1973;1975) have published findings from two surveys of national samples of college and university faculty members, the Carnegie Commission survey of 60,000 faculty members in 1969 and their own follow-up survey conducted in 1972. While the scope and focus of these very elaborate national surveys differed considerably from our local mini-survey, some points of comparison are worth mentioning.

The main thrust of the Ladd and Lipset study was to identify factors associated with the receptivity of faculty members to unionism and collective bargaining. While faculty unionization obviously has some elements of collective behavior, in the sense defined by Smelser, it is perhaps a more pragmatic response to situational strains, in contrast to the ideologically focused response of a "radical" movement which aims at the reconstitution of the university system at the very highest level of values and goals. Organization for collective bargaining constitutes a more specific reconstitution/role mobilization, with perhaps some modifications in the normative component but with relatively little ramification at the level of values; unionization represents more a problem-solving action than the impatient leap to faith which characterizes a "movement."

In spite of the differences in focus and in empirical indicators employed there is some congruence between our findings and those published by Ladd and Lipset. They found that, generally, those faculty members most marginally situated indicated the greatest receptivity to unionization, specifically:

> Faculty employed in the lower tier of academe--in terms of scholarly prestige, financial resources, and economic benefit, and those

> who are in the lower ranks, who lack tenure, and who are younger, are much more likely to favor organized collective action (Ladd and Lipset, 1975:251).

General ideological (political) orientation was also found to be of considerable importance, with those favoring unionization tending strongly to "perceive themselves as being on the political left, have backed liberal candidates, hold liberal attitudes on a variety of community political issues . . ." (Ladd and Lipset, 1975:251).

With respect to specifically educational and academic values, there were also some findings of the Ladd and Lipset study that are at least tangential to those of our own study. They found, for example, that those favoring unionism also tended to favor compensatory academic programs for blacks, be sympathetic to campus activism, and wanted change in the governance system in order to increase faculty power (Ladd and Lipset, 1975:251). However, several indicators congruent with our perception of faculty power variable proved to be "notably less" predictive of receptivity to unionism than the indicators of general ideological orientation (Ladd and Lipset, 1975:256-7).

It seems likely to us that while there is certainly a large overlap between those we have characterized as academic radicals and those Ladd and Lipset have identified as favorable to organized collective bargaining, the potential supporters of unionization probably include many faculty members who, though politically liberal, are still relatively conservative in their academic values. On the other hand, in spite of the egalitarian thrust of trade union ideology, unionism is probably too narrowly focused in its goals and too "bureaucratic" in its mode of operation to suit the fully ideological academic radical. This might well underlie the apparently blurred relationship between faculty power positions and academic values to attitudes on unionization.

Footnotes

[1]Data were collected by Suzanne Vaughn for her Master's Thesis in sociology (Vaughn, 1975). The use of the data for the present study involved somewhat different theory and methodology than that employed in the thesis.

[2]Refusals were somewhat disproportionately from younger faculty, some of whom exhibited openly paranoid fears concerning the purposes of the survey and the uses that questionnaire information might be put. Others cooperated only after repeated and emphatic assurances on these points.

[3]Due to space limitations, a complete description of the scale is not presented here, but is available on request.

[4]Pearson correlation and regression was used even though some variables are measured on ordinal rather than interval scales. Path analysis using ordinal measures of association, following the rationale advanced by Smith (1972;1974), did not yield substantially different results.

[5]The eleven deleted paths are: Prestige of Field to Tenure, Rank, and Academic values; Career Continuity to Productivity and Rank; Productivity to Tenure, Faculty Power, and Academic Values; Tenure to Rank and Academic Values; Rank to Faculty Power.

References

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education
1973 The Purposes and Performance of Higher Education in the United States. Hightstown, N.J.: McGraw-Hill.

Dunhan, Ralph E., Patricia Wright, and Marjorie Chandler
1966 Teaching Faculty in Universities and Four-Year Colleges. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Ladd, Everett C., Jr., and Seymour M. Lipset
1973 Professors, Unions, and American Higher Education. Washington, D. C.: American Enterprise Institute for Policy Research.
1975 The Divided Academy. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Smelser, Neil J.
1962 Theory of Collective Behavior. New York: The Free Press.

Smith, Robert B.
1972 "Neighborhood plans and college plans: an ordinal path analysis." Social Forces 51:199-217.
1974 "Continuities in ordinal path analysis." Social Forces 53:200-29.

Stouffer, Samuel
1962 Social Research to Test Ideas. New York: The Free Press.

Vaughan, Suzanne
1975 Faculty Receptivity to Radical Academic Ideology: An Empirical Test of a Causal Model. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico.

Wilensky, Harold L.
1961 "Orderly careers and social participation: the impact of work history on social integration in the middle mass." American Sociological Review 26:521-39.